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Why Must the USSR be Reconstructed on the Principle of

Independent National States of All Peoples

Who Are Now Under the Soviets?

The great majority of people under the Soviets probably know well that the USSR represents the most terrible prison of peoples in the world, that it is a country of the cruelest national, political, and social oppression of the peoples living under the Soviets and of the Russian people themselves. The only ones who do not notice and do not understand it are those who for some reason, find it unprofitable to see and understand, namely, the members of the Bolshevik Party hostile to the people, especially the leaders, and all the other base grovelers to the Bolshevik regime. Anyone who has eyes and the capacity to think more or less independently, anyone who can draw conclusions, cannot be confused by Bolshevik propaganda and fail to see the evil, extremely anti-national, character of the Bolshevik system. Therefore, the majority of people under the Soviets hate the Soviet-Bolshevik order and long for its destruction.

However, although hostile to the Bolshevik regime and longing for its destruction, some of the advanced people under the Soviets, chiefly among the intelligentsia, do not always entertain a correct idea as to how and on what foundations the USSR must be reconstructed, and do not always have a correct conception of the order for which it is necessary to struggle against the Bolshevik regime today, which must arise on the ruins of the Bolshevik USSR tomorrow. Many people under the Soviets make a great mistake in this case. They

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are often against the reconstruction of the USSR on the principle of independent national states of the peoples under the Soviets but for the conservation of the territorial and political unity of the present USSR. In their opinion, the unification of all the peoples now under the Soviets into one state is in the latter's interests; it would suffice to only change the internal order; to abolish dictatorship and terror; to establish, shall we say, democracy; to introduce social justice; and to do away with the parasitic class of Bolshevik lords. No other changes in the USSR are necessary. A division of the USSR into independent national states, these people often think, would weaken the peoples under the Soviets and thus force them to become victims of some other, non-Russian, imperialism. They also think that such a division would have repercussions in the economies of the individual nations under the Soviets and lower their standard of living.

We shall try to show here how erroneous such points of view are.

To keep to the point, if any representatives of the subjugated non-Russian peoples under the Soviets, primarily Ukrainians, entertain such ideas, they must remember that they follow the beaten path of Bolshevik propaganda. This propaganda, fighting the liberation aspirations of the subjugated peoples, uses arguments about the reputed political and economic necessity of unification of the peoples now under the Soviets into one state. This sort of argument about the conservation of unity of the USSR, as we have shown above, looks serious at first, so why should not Bolshevik propaganda take advantage of it? We do not think we shall err either if we say that, at least in the case of Russians, such opinions are a continuation of the great Russian imperialistic way of thinking which was stubbornly and widely cultivated by the Tsars as well as by the Russian Bolshevik imperialists.

One of the greatest disasters that constantly fell upon the shoulders of the people in Tsarist Russia and which fell again upon the shoulders of the peoples of the USSR in recent years, has been and is continuous, difficult, bloodshedding wars.

One must definitely get rid of the legend about the so-called liberating mission of Tsarist Russia which has reputedly been realized in respect to the "Orthodox Christians" or "the Slav peoples", a notion widely spread by Tsarist historians and writers before 1917. Various parties have duly revised their point of view in this respect, so we shall not tarry here any longer. It will suffice to remember that behind the propaganda of Tsarist Russia about the liberation of Sofia or Constantinople from under the Turkish reign stood the endeavor to get a firm foothold in the Dardanelles, to assure for herself a free passage through these straits. Before 1795 the propaganda about the "protection of the Orthodox" within the limits of Poland had no other aim than to cover up the political division of Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, with Russia obviously getting the biggest morsel. With the propaganda about the "protection of the Slavs", Tsarist Russia covered its aspiration to widen its rule in the Balkan peninsula and to gain an outlet to the "warm seas" (the Adriatic Sea). These imperialistic aspirations were a decisive factor in Russia's assistance to the Bulgarians and Serbs in their struggle against the Turkish yoke, not any "Slav sympathies" for those people. It is well known how many and what bloody wars Russia was obliged to wage against Turkey before it succeeded in throwing the latter out of the Balkan peninsula. It was no easy matter for Russia to conquer Poland.

One must definitely reject the myth created and supported by the Bolshevik invaders about the reputed liberating mission of the present USSR, that the USSR carries liberation from capitalist slavery to the workers of the whole world. During the period 1917-1923, the Moscow Bolshevik invaders fought

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not only against autocracy and capitalism in Tsarist Russia, but also against foreign intervention during the first few years of Soviet rule. During that time the newborn Bolshevik imperialists also took over, by military means, the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Central Asia, and Belarussia, and endeavored to invade Finland, the Baltic countries, and Poland. Throughout the occupied territories the Bolshevik imperialist introduced a regime of unheard of national oppression and exploitation, a regime which, in many cases, outdoes the most reactionary regimes in the colonies of the capitalist countries. In 1939 the Moscow Bolshevik imperialists invaded Finland. In 1940 they occupied the Baltic states. The war of 1941-1945 was not only a liberating defensive war of the peoples of the USSR against the Hitler invaders; as a result of this war, the Bolshevik criminals, taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the people of the USSR, actually took over and occupied Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Eastern Germany, and Eastern Austria. In the Far East, as a result of the war against imperialist Japan, the Bolsheviks invaded Northern Korea, the whole of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, and secured military bases at Port Arthur and Dainiy. Throughout these countries, with the exception of Eastern Austria, a regime similar to that in the USSR has been introduced, a regime of savage national oppression and exploitation and of ruthless political oppression of the working masses. That is how the "liberating mission" of the USSR is actually realized with respect to the working masses of other nations. Having felled capitalism and the rule of the bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy, the Bolshevik criminals harness people into a new and heavier yoke, the yoke of Bolshevik dictatorship, the yoke of an aggressive and exploiting social order, the yoke of Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

All this gives us the right to say over and over again that, like the wars of Tsarist Russia, all the wars of the Bolshevik USSR, which weigh so heavily on the shoulders of the working masses and which cost them such enormous bloody sacrifices, have been and are imperialistic, predatory wars.

These questions arise: What is the source of Russian - first Tsarist and now Bolshevik - imperialism? On what basis did this imperialism arise? How did it develop? On what basis is it flourishing today?

As usual, the answer to these questions is not easy. Every imperialism, as every predatory policy, including Russian, be it Tsarist or Bolshevik, is a complicated phenomenon. Imperialism is always conditioned not by one but many factors. Therefore, a broad and complicated historical analysis would be necessary in order to clarify the reasons which engendered in the past and are engendering Russian imperialism today. This, obviously, is beyond the limits of our short article. Here we will touch upon just one of these factors.

Upon examination of Russian imperialism, one irrefutable truth about it becomes apparent and must be mentioned, viz., one of the sources which engendered Russian Tsarist invasions in the past and which engender the Russian Bolshevik imperialist policy today is the great land expanses and the large population of former Tsarist Russia as well as of the present Bolshevik USSR.

That it is really so can be proven by the following rather eloquent fact. Tsarist Russia was never powerful from the economic and technical point of view. In this respect, she was always a backward country. Nevertheless, she has always had a distinctly imperialistic foreign policy. Constantinople, the Near East, and the Balkans in the southeast; Persia, Afghanistan, and perhaps even India in the south; Mongolia, Manchuria, the Kuril Islands, and Korea in the Far East; the Baltic Sea in the northwest; and Poland in the west; these were the objects of Tsarist Russian imperialistic aspirations. In the name of these aspirations Tsarist Russia led extremely bloody wars against Turkey, Persia, Sweden, Poland, and Japan, to say nothing of the predatory wars for the conquest of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia. The most important factor which brought Russia victory in those wars was not

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the military technical supremacy over the enemy, but the supremacy in numbers, in live human force. If Russian strategy is characteristic in anything at all, it is just in that it never took human beings into account. Its basic principle has always been and is now "to cover the enemy with hats". "We have enough men" is the guiding principle of Russian generals who throw masses of soldiers into the jaws of death in order to realize the imperialistic plans of their bosses in Petersburg or Moscow. And what gives them the possibility to apply this "higher strategy"? It is obvious: the great human reserves of the great territorial empire.

If Russia were only a Russian national state, could she dream about the Balkans, Constantinople, the Near East, the Kuril Islands, and so forth? No, she could not; this is certain. There would not have been any real basis for it. Without reigning in the Ukraine, and by the same token over the Black Sea, Russia could not even think of conquering the Balkans, or of cutting off a piece of Turkey. Without being master of the peoples in Caucasus, and of all the tribes along the Volga, Russia could not even think of invading Persia, or Afghanistan, and its drive towards Central Asia would not have had the impetus it has. It is also quite certain that neither the Ukraine as an independent state nor the Caucasian nations would have thought of expanding in the Balkans, or conquering Iran or the Near East. They, too, would have had no real basis for it. Only Great Russia can dream about it, great as far as the territory is concerned and great in the number of people she has.

The present Bolshevik USSR has ceased to be a technically backward country. More exactly, it has ceased to be as backward as it was in Tsarist times. Her industrial technical strength, coupled with the advanced ideas of liberating the working masses from capitalism and building Socialism, which the Bolshevik criminals employ exclusively as a propaganda screen, gives new impetus, as is well known to one and all, to Russian - in this case, Bolshevik Russian - imperialism. The desires of contemporary Bolshevik imperialism are not limited to individual objects situated more or less close to their empire; they covet the entire globe. Such is the tenor of the whole policy of the Moscow Bolshevik imperialists. The slogans such as "For Peace", "Against War", and "Against Warmongers" are there only for propaganda purposes, to be used in the press, at "peace congresses", and at international conferences. Actually the whole policy of the Bolsheviks is to prepare the ground for world-wide Bolshevik Moscow domination. Bolshevik Moscow has agent Communist parties and fifth columns working for it in every country of the world. The whole external and internal policy of the USSR is conducted from that angle. Regardless of how much Bolshevik propaganda might shout about the imperialism of the opponents of the USSR, the whole trend of international politics, especially during the last few years, convinces us that the attacks really come from the imperialism of Bolshevik Moscow. Therefore, perhaps most of all, it is the Russian Bolshevik imperialists who will be responsible for the third world war which is fast approaching.

Could the Moscow Bolshevik imperialists think of extending their rule over the whole world if they could not lean on the industrial technical foundation they have today? Most certainly not. If they did not have such a large and so well-equipped army, and such an industry as they have today, the Bolshevik oppressors would not attempt to conquer the world. To what circumstances do the Bolsheviks owe their present industrial and technical might? First of all, to the natural resources of the territory over which they rule: The industrialization plans of the greatest genius would not have resulted in the industrial power they possess today, if their rule had not been extended to the Ukraine, with its coal, iron, manganese ore, and black earth; if they did not dominate the peoples in the Caucasus with their oil; if they did not dominate Central Asia with its cotton and colored metals; and if they did not rule over the territory of Siberia with its simply unlimited natural resources.

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The development of industry, this most important material base of imperialism under the present circumstances, depends first of all on the amount of natural resources in the territory of a given state. This means that, now as before, the material base on which imperialism develops is first of all a territory rich in natural resources. One must also remember that, ordinarily, the larger the territory of the country, the greater are its natural resources. Therefore, the larger the territory of the country, the better basis it has for the development of imperialism.

A shining example of this interdependence between a large territory and industrial might, on one side, and foreign policy, on the other, a shining example of how a territory rich in natural resources becomes a source of expansionist tendencies, is the United States of America. The present economic and political penetration of the United States into the whole world is conditioned by its exceptional industrial, technical, financial, commercial, and other power. This is quite obvious to everyone. This policy of penetration was born almost before our eyes, during the last few years. It developed parallel with the development of the simply unbelievable economic power of the United States during the last ten years, also almost before our eyes. And what made it possible for the United States to develop such tremendous economic strength? In the first place, the great natural resources of their territory. In our opinion, this has been and is the most important factor in the economic development and the present economic standing of the United States. All other factors, in our opinion, played a minor role in the case of the United States. If the United States had depended for its industrial development on the imports of many basic raw materials from foreign countries, as, let us say, England had - and having started to develop its industries much later than the European countries - it would never, even under the most favorable circumstances, have achieved the degree of economic development it has reached now. The United States has been fortunate in that it came to be a great state not by way of imperialistic conquest but as a result of truly voluntary unification of separate states. Its luck lies also in the fact that it forms, though in a very peculiar way - consisting as it does of extremely diverse national masses of emigrants - a really national state. Therefore, in the case of the United States, the question may be only one of change in the direction of their policy and the proper exploitation of their industrial and economic potential, not one of territorial and political reconstruction (meaning subdivision, obviously).

The conclusion to be drawn from the above thoughts is as follows: The policy of the Bolshevik USSR, as well as that of Tsarist Russia, has always been typically imperialistic. The territory, rich in various natural resources, with its multimillioned population, is the material basis on which the present imperialism has developed. Its industrial and technical power grows out of its natural resources and fosters imperialistic plans. Therefore, in order to deal a really fatal blow to the present Russian Bolshevik imperialism, to render the renaissance of Russian imperialism, in another shape or under different slogans, impossible, in order to liberate the peoples under the Soviets from all the misery of imperialistic wars which are the logical result of any imperialistic policy, the territorial unity of the present USSR must be destroyed and the USSR must be definitely reconstructed territorially and politically. If this is not done, on the basis of the territory of the present USSR (one-sixth of the globe), with its natural resources and 200 million population, any master of these vast spaces, whether "red" or "white", sooner or later, with this or that catchword, will always conduct an imperialistic policy. "Residence in a place gives knowledge", runs a dictum in historical materialism. Although not always, but in this case the dictum is absolutely true. Residence in this vast space, i.e., life in circumstances of a great state rich in various natural resources and manpower, engenders imperialistic awareness, imperialistic grasping plans, and an imperialistic grasping policy. Taking into consideration all we

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have said above, on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that:
 a) there are many subjugated peoples in the USSR, b) the present USSR was created as a result of the violent destruction of the nationally independent states of many peoples, and c) the so-called unity of the Bolshevik empire is maintained by unheard of terror and national oppression, the territorial and political reconstruction of the USSR can be thought of only as a reconstruction on the principle of independent national states of all peoples who are under the Soviets now, only as a reconstruction directed towards factual and complete realization of the rights of all subjugated peoples to national self-determination. This reconstruction cannot be considered in any other form. Any other kind of reconstruction either would not yield the desired results, i.e., would not destroy Russian imperialism at its very roots, or, neglecting the rightful aspirations of the subjugated peoples to national self-determination, would be against nature and, therefore, of short duration.

Continuous, bloody, predatory wars are not the only evil imperialism brings to the people. It is well known that foreign and domestic policy are closely interrelated. Imperialism is not only foreign policy accompanied by wars of aggression; it also is a reactionary policy, always directed against the population. We shall try to examine the question to determine what negative results Russian imperialism has yielded and is yielding now in the domestic field.

If some one of the subjugated peoples is afraid that the division of the USSR into separate independent national states might have negative results in the economic field, such, for instance, as the lowering of the living standards of separate nations, we would like to ask them whether as a part of the Tsarist Russian or Bolshevik Russian empire the masses of all subjugated have been so well off. Did not the masses of the present USSR live hundreds of years in constant and unheard of poverty, under unprecedentedly difficult economic and low cultural conditions? We do not have to prove that it is really so; unfortunately, those things are too well known to need proof. Instead of being afraid of the economic conditions which might follow the dismemberment of the USSR, it is first of all necessary - absolutely necessary - to ask: why have poverty and want been the only lot of the popular masses of the Soviet Union up to now? Why are these masses even now hundreds of years behind Europe in their living standard? And here we must conclude that one of the most important reasons for this state of affairs is Russian imperialism with its endless wars. Wars demand, as is well known, not only human sacrifices but also tremendous expenses. Where would such an economically backward country as was Tsarist Russia obtain all that money? Obviously, from the population, through high direct and indirect taxes, in the first place. Could the population of Tsarist Russia, highly taxed and using primitive methods and equipment in agriculture, raise its standard of living to a level worthy of a human being? And could the Tsar's government while financing continuous wars also develop, let us say, a school system or establish proper sanitary and medical care for the broad masses of population, even had it wanted to do so? Could the Tsar's government, while waging continuous wars, lower the taxes so as to improve a little the difficult circumstances of the Russian farmer and worker? It is obvious that the Tsar's government, conducting predatory wars, could do none of these things. The forbidding costs of predatory wars condemned the people to everlasting poverty and want, illiteracy, and general backwardness.

Having considered the negative influence which the policy of imperialism with its constant wars had on the living standard of the masses of former Tsarist Russia, we shall point out here another characteristic trait of Russian imperialism: while the imperialism of the western European countries had a territorial and political character that developed almost always concurrently with the increase of economic power and riches of the western European peoples, Russian imperialism has always had and still has a purely military character. It was not based, as far as Tsarist Russia was concerned,

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on a highly developed economy or the prosperity of the population, but exclusively on the needs of the military machine, which was built at the expense of an economically undeveloped country and economically poor population. It is known, that territorial and political conquests of countries such as England and the Netherlands were preceded by wide economic penetration of these countries into the territory of their future colonies. One should remember the part that the Dutch and English trade companies played in this business (for instance, the well-known role of the English and Dutch East Indian companies) and the role of the trading posts. Economic penetration, although in a different form, often preceded colonial conquests of other western European countries. In all these cases, colonial conquests were the result of a united, combined offensive, of private capital acting in one form or another, on the one hand, and of the governments, on the other. Moreover, those states were, economically, highly developed organisms with a rich population. It is obvious that under such conditions the majority of the population felt the cost of colonial conquests much less. The matter was entirely different in the case of Tsarist Russia. Tsarist Russian imperialism, in the majority of cases, was not accompanied by trade companies. Trading posts did not prepare the ground, and economic expansion of a population grown rich did not precede it. Russia obtained new territories only through military conquests, through undisguised military attacks against her adversaries. Already poor, the masses had to pay for military victories. Clearly, imperialism of this type, purely military, with the country economically undeveloped and the basic masses of the population quite poor, reflected especially painfully on the economic conditions of the peoples of Tsarist Russia.

And now let us take a look at the present USSR. Is it not worth while to ask yourself the following question: where lies the main cause of this unprecedented poverty in which the entire population of the Soviet Union has been living for over 30 years? The USSR is the richest country in the world in respect to natural resources. The population of the USSR works harder than any other in the world. The Bolsheviks have achieved considerable successes in industrialization. Why is there no evidence that all these successes have contributed anything to the improvement of the living standard of the masses? Why must they continue to live on half-starvation diets, be dressed in rags, live in overcrowded dilapidated quarters, in barracks, and do without the basic necessities? There is just one correct explanation of this state of affairs: because the Bolshevik ruling clique directs the whole economy of the country towards preparation for a war, the development of the war industry, and the construction of military objectives, for the needs of their imperialistic foreign policy. Into the jaws of that Moloch, Russian Bolshevik imperialism, is thrown the work of many millions of people under the Soviet regime, billions of profits from tens of thousands of so-called people's enterprises, the savings of the citizens, all taxes, state loans, the products of the industries, and so forth. The masses get just enough to keep from starving to death and going stark raved. The Bolshevik criminals try to justify this policy by fear of attack from outside. But we have already spoken about the value of Bolshevik propaganda, their fear of aggression, and the real tenor of Bolshevik policy. That Bolshevik policy is one of imperialism is a completely indisputable and obvious fact.

Thus, Bolshevik Russian imperialism, as the Tsarist one before it, with its continuous predatory wars, is the main cause of the economic poverty of the popular masses and their terribly low standard of living. Only the destruction of Russian imperialism in general can put an end to this situation. A fatal blow to Russian imperialism can be dealt only by the destruction of the territorial-political unity of the present USSR and by its reconstruction on the principle of independent national states of all the peoples who are now under the Soviets.

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The negative effect of imperialism is not limited to the economic conditions of the popular masses.

The ruling imperialistic clique must have the support of certain social groups in the country itself to be able to realize its imperialistic plans in foreign as well as domestic policy. It cannot have the entire nation against it; under such conditions it would not hold power for long. To obtain support at least from some part of the population, the ruling clique always grants certain economic and political privileges to certain social groups. In other words, the ruling clique buys social support from a part of the population with various economic and political concessions. In this way, an economically rich and politically privileged social group is created in the country; if the imperialistic clique leans for support on an economically strong social group formed by an economic group (for instance, the bourgeoisie) already in existence, the political and social positions of this particular group are noticeably strengthened. This group usually becomes one of exploiters and parasites living at the expense of other social classes; it lives, grows rich, and rules the working masses of the country. Thus, an imperialistic policy has negative results in the field of social relations as well: it engenders social inequality and injustice, social enslavement and economic exploitation of the working masses by social groups which have obtained both economic and political privileges from the ruling clique.

Let us consider the social conditions of Tsarist Russia. Can one separate Tsarism from Russian nobility? The connection between the two was so close that the Bolsheviks call the autocracy of the Russian Tsars simply the "dictatorship of the nobility." The nobility owed its origin to Tsardom, as well as its economic standing and all the privileges. Russian Tsardom always had the widest support from the nobility. It is no accident that the development of Russian nobility went parallel with the development of Russian imperialism in foreign policy. Russian Tsarism had to secure support at least from part of the population, so it granted various economic and political privileges to the nobility. Ivan the Terrible, Peter the First, and Catherine the Second were not only the most outstanding representatives of Tsarist Russian imperialism but also the greatest patrons of the nobility. When, as a result of the development of economic conditions, the bourgeoisie came into being in Russia, Tsarism developed the closest connections with it, too. The result is only too well known. The working masses of Tsarist Russia were obliged to suffer unprecedented social oppression and economic exploitation for whole centuries. The Tsarist state not only did not take the oppressed and exploited class under its protection; in many respects it helped the exploitation, or was even the cause of it. The wider Tsarism extended its imperialistic plans, the more concessions it granted to the social groups on which it leaned for support. This always meant greater social oppression and economic exploitation were suffered by the working masses from the ruling social groups.

The imperialism of the Moscow Bolshevik oppressors yields the same results in respect to social conditions.

It is well known that the Bolshevik Party has occupied the position of a ruling political group in the Soviet social structure since the first days of the Bolshevik regime. The Soviet Bolshevik state is not a tool of proletarian dictatorship but of the dictatorship of the Communist Party, or, rather, the leading top of the Party. The theory about the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR is just a propaganda phrase intended to cover up the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party clique over all the nations in the USSR. The fact that the Bolshevik ruling clique tried to secure for itself certain economic privileges during the first few months of the revolution may perhaps have been overlooked. Lenin permitted himself a gesture and lived on a starvation ration like the rest of the population of the USSR at the time. The ideological uplift of the Bolsheviks grew weaker year by year. The predatory policy of the Bolshevik Government (the conquest of the territory of the allied republics), the dictatorship over the workers

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(and not the power of the workers), an anti-national policy with respect to trade unions, cruel exploitation and ill-treatment of the farmers, a ruthless extermination of the so-called opposition on the benches of the Bolshevik Party, etc., all this opened the eyes not only of the peoples of the USSR, of the working masses, but also of a few members of the Bolshevik Party to the fact that both the foreign and domestic policies of the Bolshevik clique are reactionary, extremely anti-national, and in many respects no better than the policy of bourgeois reactionaries and imperialists. The number of those favorably disposed towards the Bolshevik slave-drivers decreased year by year. The social foundation on which the Bolshevik clique could lean and count became narrower and narrower. In the meantime, the Bolshevik imperialists, having made sure of their rule on the territory of the USSR, began to dream seriously about further conquests. It became necessary to create, if not a very wide, at least strong social support. Obviously the Party, in the first place, could give such support. Furthermore, to ensure its standing the Bolshevik clique was obliged to buy the fealty of the MVD, the high command of the army, the top men in the administration, the scientists, the writers, etc. However, political privileges alone were not sufficient to develop strong ties between the wider masses of the Party and other elements, on one hand, and the ruling regime, on the other, or to draw a great number of the socially active - though non-ideological - element into the Party. It was also necessary to guarantee these people a ruling economic position (obviously, compared to the general level of the population under the Soviets). The Bolshevik clique did that. While Lenin lived in Moscow on starvation rations during the so-called Civil War, the Party and its henchmen enjoyed special, increased foodstuff rations and shopped in special, closed stores at a time when the masses of the USSR went about half-starving and lived under the most miserable living conditions. In these special stores the shelves were not as bare as they were in the general stores; the Party parasites, secure in the high brackets of their salaries and wide privileges, could buy everything here. It was not they but the masses who carried on their shoulders the burden of the war. Even in those difficult times the Bolshevik parasites acted as a privileged group, not only politically but also economically.

In this way, in the Bolshevik USSR, under a regime which arose on the ruins of the aristocratic-bourgeois autocratic Tsarist empire, which declared the abolition of all the divisions of society into classes in general to be its goal, which promised to exterminate exploitation of men forever, to annihilate all social parasites, and to put an end to the exploitation of workers in any form, it came to a new division of society into exploiters and exploited. A new ruling group was born and formed, a group of social parasites and exploiters - the class of the Bolshevik lords. The great majority of the members of the Bolshevik Party and all its leading personnel will be found in that group. The top men in the MVD, the MGB, the army, the administration, the government, and the cultural field will be found there too. All of them are in the higher brackets. The Bolshevik clique tries to arrange for them the best living conditions possible. All of them, according to Bolshevik standards, simply wallow in luxury. They live in beautifully furnished flats, are well dressed, eat good food, and enjoy wide cultural recreations. The resorts are all for them, etc. All of them have that feeling of superiority, peculiar to ruling social groups, with regard to the broad working masses; all of them carry that omnipotence, conceit, and haughtiness peculiar to those in power. On the other hand, the working masses - many, many millions of farmers, workers, the working intelligentsia which did not sell its soul to the Bolshevik oppressors - lead a most miserable life. They live under terrible economic conditions, doing poorly paid work beyond their strength, completely defenseless, and in constant fear of the Bolshevik courts, the MVD, the MGB, and prisons or deportations. Marx correctly stated that "accumulated riches at one pole are always accompanied by poverty, darkness, and lawlessness at the other" (quoted from memory). The action of this law is demonstrated in all its nakedness and tragedy in the present Soviet society. The policy of the clique in regard to the officer personnel of the Red Army during the last few years is a good illustration of what privileges the Bolshevik clique is obliged to grant in order to realize their imperialistic plans. How much paper did the Bolshevik leaders waste in the period before 1917 and later on writing against the privileged position of the Tsarist generals and officers, their

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high pay, their shoulder straps and epaulettes, and discipline? How much blood did the workers shed fighting under their leadership for the annihilation of the privileged caste of Tsarist generals and officers? And what have we now? In order to secure the strong support of the army - this most important component part of the Bolshevik war machine - the Bolshevik ringleaders give the officers and generals of the Soviet Army all their hearts can desire: high pay, orderlies, and all those outward forms of discipline which emphasize a certain dependence of the soldier on the officer, and certain material comforts, tending to create for them a position of proper authority in society, etc. The object of all this is to buy and make secure the officer personnel of the army.

The result of this policy is as follows: at present a new class of society has come into being in the USSR, the class of Bolshevik lords, exploiters and oppressors of the workers, parasites. The main reason for the development of such social conditions in the USSR is the dictatorial position of the Bolshevik clique, which operates without any control whatever by the people, on the one hand, and the imperialistic, predatory character of the foreign policy of the Moscow Bolshevik imperialists, on the other.

Thus, one of the results of Russian imperialism, formerly Tsarist and now Bolshevik, is the division of the population into two classes: that of the exploiters and that of the exploited, a small group of the politically and economically privileged ones and a multimillioned mass of neglected ones, and a continuation of the social oppression and exploitation which the popular masses of the USSR have suffered throughout its whole history. The extermination of Russian Bolshevik imperialism which can only be achieved through reconstruction of the USSR on the principle of independent national states is therefore one of the most important prerequisites for a real social liberation of the working masses of the peoples under the Soviets, the establishment of real social equality and justice, and a truly classless society.

This by no means covers all the adverse effects of Russian imperialism on domestic conditions.

The majority of the great states are multinational. The Russian Empire was a typically multinational state; so is the present Bolshevik USSR. This circumstance obviously cannot but have its influence on the development of domestic conditions in the country, and, therefore, we shall stop to consider it.

First, having become a multinational state by armed conquest of many other nations, such a state can keep its territories only with the help of a large and well-equipped army, a well-organized and strong police force, and a whole army of spies, prisons, concentration camps, etc. Therefore, imperialistic states always strive to build up such an apparatus. Everyone knows what that means to the population. It means, first of all, the strengthening of the position of supremacy of the central ruling clique, a process, which, history teaches us, always gives rise to either autocracy or dictatorship, terrorism and police oppression of the mass of the population, placing the State apparatus way above the population, where it is not a servant of the population but a policeman over it. Thus, the strengthening of the apparatus of force always means the deepening of political enslavement and the sharpening of oppression of the population. Furthermore, the population must bear the weight of the upkeep of this great apparatus of force: they must pay additional taxes; send their sons into the enlarged army and police detachments; spend a large part of their resources without any profit to themselves, which, contributes to greater impoverishment of the popular masses; etc.

The central power of a great multinational state always strives to attain the greatest centralization of the government of the country. From the point of view of the materialistic interests this is a thoroughly understandable phenomenon. Should they permit the subjugated peoples wider self-government, the imperialists would, so to say, create suitable ground for the development

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of separatist tendencies among those peoples. Clearly, they would never do it. Consistency in their imperialistic policy requires complete liquidation of any form of territorial self-government and a strict centralization of the government, and the imperialists know how to be consistent.

This centralization is necessary to the authorities of the multinational states not only for the preservation of the unity of their empire, which tends to burst from centrifugal aspirations of the subjugated peoples; it is also necessary in order to utilize more surely and effectively, in accordance with their imperialistic plans, all the advantages of the natural conditions of their state (especially the natural wealth and human resources).

What is the result? By maintaining a large and a well-equipped force, the ruling clique of the great state creates the best possible conditions for either autocracy or dictatorship. And all the misery which results from autocracy or dictatorship settles on the shoulders not only of the subjugated peoples but also of their own nationals. Great nations, especially the Russian nation, should remember that. Having made a whip for the subjugated peoples to begin with, the imperialists always use it against the entire nation, including their own nationals. A statement by Marx that "a people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free itself" is absolutely true. This conclusion is confirmed by the history of mankind, and particularly of Russia.

Various investigators of the causes of centralization and autocracy in former Tsarist Russia explain those causes in different ways: on the basis of historical tradition, the character of the Russian people, the isolation from the West for many centuries, etc. Obviously, there is a grain of truth in all this. We shall put the question as follows: taking into consideration that a) the Russian empire was created by bloody conquest of foreign territories and that b) all the subjugated peoples only waited for a propitious moment to free themselves from the Tsarist Russian yoke, could the Tsarist rulers of Russia, to preserve the unity of the empire, conduct any other policy except that of strict centralization? They were obliged to strangle not only the expression of aspirations for freedom but even the indication of national consciousness. For that purpose they always needed a strong army, a well-organized and well-trained police force, an army of spies, punitive detachments, prisons, etc. Could the Russian Tsar, leaning for support on a strong army which was purportedly necessary, first, to widen the borders of the state and then to keep the conquered territories in obedience, leaning for support on a strong Okhranka /secret police/, be favorably disposed toward any liberal reforms? The whole history of Russian revolutionary struggle against Tsarism is full of such tragic moments. Was not the Russian revolutionary movement obliged to lay whole hecatombs of bloody sacrifices in order to fell the reactionary autocracy? Would not this struggle have been easier and Tsarism weaker if it had not ruled over the peoples of Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, but only over the national territory of the Russian people? There is no doubt of it. In such a case Russian Tsarism would have been weaker and more inclined towards progressive reforms, and the struggle against it would have been easier. One of the most important reasons why the Russian people were forced to suffer the bloody oppression of Tsarist autocracy for so many centuries was the multinational character of the Russian empire. This is true beyond any doubt.

What of the maintenance of the great military, police, and bureaucratic machine of the Tsarist prison empire? Did not the expense amount to millions of rubles, which were drawn from the working masses by the Tsarist officials? Is it not clear that these expenses would have been much smaller if they had been confined to the national Russian State?

The case is not any different with respect to the Bolshevik regime. Having inherited all the imperialistic and centralization traditions of Tsarist Russian imperialism, the regime achieved the same results in domestic life. The multinational character of the present USSR, the presence of conquered

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territories and subjugated peoples make the severest centralization and the maintenance of a great organization of force necessary. All of this requires a great and completely unprofitable expense on the part of society, on one hand, and on the other it only strengthens the dictatorial position of the Bolshevik clique and makes its barbarian, terroristic policy possible.

Therefore, Russian imperialism and the multinational character of the Tsarist, and later the Bolshevik, state is one of the most important causes of the former Tsarist autocracy and the present Bolshevik dictatorship. Both forms of government mean cruel political oppression for the people, complete political enslavement, bloody terror, and complete deprivation of civil rights. The destruction of the present Bolshevik dictatorship and the prevention of the rebirth of traditional Russian autocracy in one form or another is not possible by any other means than the destruction of Russian imperialism, namely, through the reconstruction of the present USSR on the principle of independent national states.

Let us summarize our thoughts.

Not only the necessity to put an end to bloody imperialistic wars demands the destruction of the USSR as a territorial and political unit but also the need for a real social liberation of the working masses of the present Soviet Union, real equality and justice, and a really classless society on the territory of the present USSR. As long as the territory of the present USSR represents one state, one political unit, formed by violent conquests and maintained by terror, the people of the USSR will be forced to perish in predatory imperialistic wars conducted by the contemporary rulers of that territory in the name of their imperialistic plans. They will always live in extreme poverty, suffer all kinds of want, and be under constant social oppression and enslavement. The exploitation of man by man, in the cruellest of forms, will never stop. Centralization and tyranny will be the rule. In a word, extreme political and social reaction will always reign. The peoples of the present USSR will never be able to live a really free, really happy life worthy of man. This does not apply to the subjugated peoples alone; it applies in great measure to the Russian people itself.

Now let us stop to think whether there is any foundation to the fears of the peoples under the Soviets who maintain that the territory of the present Soviet Union, if divided into separate national states, would become a victim of some other imperialism and that such a division would cause various economic difficulties in the separate nations under the Soviets. We shall not contest that the danger of the independent national states' being conquered by some other imperialism potentially exists today and, perhaps, will exist in the future. This is true. But what conclusion must be drawn from it - the one that many people under the Soviets make, namely, the one justifying the existence of the Soviet Union? By no means. This circumstance must suggest just one conclusion: In order to protect their national independence from attacks of any imperialism, the peoples under the Soviets, having established their national independent states, must cooperate closely with one another in all aspects of life - political, economic, military, and cultural. There is nothing new in that, someone might say; the Soviet Union was formed just in the name of such cooperation. We would answer that it would be new because it would represent cooperation between separate nations voluntarily and freely associated, without terror, and without the occupation by the Russian Army. The purpose of this cooperation would really be for the good of the separate nations, and not for the interests of imperialistic Moscow. To establish such cooperation, it is first of all necessary to "separate", i.e., to demolish the USSR and to build on its ruins free national states. We, the representatives of the subjugated Ukrainian people, put out this slogan not as a screen to cover up some new Great Russian imperialistic scheme, but with an uncompromising readiness to carry it out to the end.

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Can a union built on these principles weaken the force of opposition to anyone who wants to rule the territories of the present USSR? We do not think so. We think that voluntary cooperation, a cooperation on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage, will only strengthen the opposition of all the peoples under the Soviets to any candidates for new invasions of these territories.

Some may still doubt that the subjugated peoples, having found themselves in their own independent states, might not discover early enough any danger which might threaten them and might not establish the necessary cooperation in time. To those we shall give the following answer: it is necessary to believe in the healthy forces of a people, in their capacity to take the best care of their interests. This is a prerequisite of liberation in general. The peoples under the Soviets who have suffered so much from Russian imperialism will take good care not to land under a new yoke.

All that we have said about the defense against a possible new invader also fully applies to economic cooperation. Objectively there are no obstacles to the closest economic cooperation in the system of free national states. The reconstruction of the USSR on the principle of independent national states does not mean at all a discontinuance of economic cooperation among the states, their isolation from one another. It only means - we shall repeat it - a reconstruction of such cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual fair play. It only means the exclusion of exploitation of the so-called union republics by the metropolis, the Russian Bolshevik imperial center, Moscow. Finally, it means putting all the resources of the separate countries to the service of the real interests of these peoples, and not of the Russian Bolshevik imperialists. Can the Soviet peoples lose anything by such reconstruction? We think that the Soviet peoples will only gain from such reconstruction in the economic field, gain so much that their living standards would rise to heights unknown in their history.

Another thing should be taken into consideration. There are not so many subjugated peoples left in the world nowadays. During the last few years, the following nations have either won independence or something very close to it: India, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Almost the whole of south and southeast Asia has achieved an independent status. The idea of self-determination of peoples moves nearer and nearer to complete realization. Only the Soviet peoples are still suffering in a Russian, first Tsarist and now Bolshevik, empire-prison. How long will this intolerable and shameful state endure? It is also time for the peoples under the Soviets to cease being fertilizer for Russian imperialism! It is also time for the peoples of Eastern Europe and Central Asia to enter the scene of history and take their rightful place in the family of free and equal nations of the world! This is not only a matter of honor but of life itself to the peoples under the Soviets. Complete national extermination threatens them in the Soviet Bolshevik prison.

The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, represented at the present time in the Ukrainian lands within the borders of the Bolshevik USSR by the armed revolutionary underground, struggles for the destruction of the Bolshevik oppressing and exploiting system, for an independent and united Ukrainian national state, for a classless society and democracy in the domestic set-up, for the reconstruction of the USSR on the principle of independent national states of all the peoples under the Soviets, for a system of free national states of all the peoples of the world, against all forms of imperialism and hostility among nations, and for close international cooperation in every aspect of life.

We, Ukrainian nationalists (and we call ourselves nationalists in contrast to all the big imperialist nations and antinational internationalists, taking the national principle as the cornerstone of international order), consider that an independent national state, and a state built on the principle of a classless society and political democracy, is one which best guarantees to any

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nation the proper conditions for a full and all-round development. Our program defines the task of the state authorities in the future independent Ukrainian state as follows: "The state authorities of the Ukrainian state consider it their highest duty to serve the interests of the people. Having no predatory aims and no enslaved countries or subjugated peoples in our state, the national government of the Ukraine will not waste time, energy, and money on creating a machine of oppression. The Ukrainian national government will direct all the economic resources and human energy toward the building of a new state order, dedicated to social justice, economic construction, and the cultural advancement of the people." Such should be the character and tasks of the authorities in all independent national states.

We stand for a system of free national states of all the peoples in the world, and at the same time against any kind of hostility among the peoples, or estrangement and artificial isolation of one nation from another. Close international cooperation must be established in the system of free national state on a world wide scale. A capable international organization built on the basis of complete equality of all nations, great and small, must be a symbol and a basic instrument of such cooperation. One of the most important tasks of such an organization must be the preservation of the inviolability of the system of independent national states.

Such an international system will not only be the most just but also the most enduring international system. Satisfying the deepest aspirations for independence of all the peoples, it a) will have the full and sincere support of all nations and b) will best preclude all international conflicts. Without it, no international organization can endure. Close economic, political, and cultural cooperation of the peoples of the present USSR in the framework of such an international organization will not only be a natural and understandable phenomenon, but also a necessary element of that organization.

We, Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents, call upon all nations, and all peoples under the Soviets to a struggle for those ideals. Only having thrown over the Bolshevik prison of people and having destroyed Russian imperialism in general, only having built independent national states with a socialistic and democratic internal organization, can we, the peoples who live under the Soviets, finally begin to live a life worthy of man.

The road to this is a courageous, revolutionary, all-national struggle against the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters. Freedom, independence, and a happy life do not fall from heaven. Other states or foreign nations will not give these to you. We must win this freedom and happiness ourselves. And to win them is possible. Tsarist Russia fell under the impact of the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated people and the exploited masses. The Soviet Union will not withstand such an attack either. It is only necessary that the peoples under the Soviets should fully realize this truth and stop suffering in silence, hoping for liberation from the outside. It is only necessary that the peoples under the Soviets should start an offensive against the Bolshevik oppressors. A really fearless, really revolutionary, really all-national struggle is necessary. This struggle must be conducted, on one side, through the development of revolutionary underground organizations which could lead such a struggle (there can be no question of a general struggle under the conditions of the USSR) and, on the other, a) through a universal support of such underground organizations on the part of the widest masses of the population and b) through a general, all-national, courageous opposition to the Moscow Bolshevik oppressors in all aspects of life. A considerable part of the Ukrainian people is waging just such a struggle today. The approaching third world war will present a good opportunity to destroy the Bolshevik prison-empire and to liberate the peoples under the Soviets. The idea of free national states for all the peoples under the Soviets must be a guiding star in the struggle against the Moscow Bolshevik oppressors.

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